1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

occasionally she is taken as his wife if he is unmarried or is able to support another wife. No trace of the sororate was found among the Kols. 582 [587]

BARS TO MARRIAGE. Before marriage is possible there are a few other matters that must be carefully checked. That the younger child must never be married before the elder, is a custom quite commonly observed all over India; the proper and the correct thing is to marry the children in the order of their ages. There is another interesting limitation; the eldest boy of a family (*Jetha*) must never marry the eldest girl (*Jetha* or *Jethi*) in the month of *Jetha* (May-June). If this be done it is bound to result in a very unhappy and quarrelsome match.

Physical or mental defects are also bars to marriage, or at least to satisfactory marriages. A person who is half-witted or deformed has very little chance of making a favourable marriage. Often such children do not survive, not through any deliberate action on the part of the parents, but being so helpless, or unable to take care of themselves as the children of the poor must do, they are simply not able to survive. Blind girls generally remain unmarried, but a blind boy who knows some kind of hand work which he may use to help support his wife may be married. If deformed children survive and do not get married they remain at home where their parents support them. 582 732

If a Kol bachelor should "keep" a woman he is not allowed to contract a real marriage until such time as this woman is renounced; the *panch* sees to this. It is not unknown that a bachelor may keep a young widow, give her up for marriage with another girl, and then after those formalities are over and forgotten, bring her back into his house as a kept woman. He will have to pay a fine or give a feast as the *panch* decides, but he is not forced to drive her out. 582 [836] [837 684 692]

Sometimes a man feels that he cannot stand the expense and obligations that go with a *pakka* or real marriage. He desires to marry, say, a certain girl, or his parents want him to do so, and there can be found no valid objection to such a match, nor is there any element in it which would force an elopement. In such a case the matter is put up to the *panchayat* and if it is ascertained that the woman in question has not been married before and that there are no other valid bars to the marriage the permission may be given. Instead of the wedding formalities the only expense involved is that of feeding the proper persons—the *panch*, the relatives, or perhaps the whole community. This decision usually rests with the *panch* itself. The formal ceremonies consist in the putting of ten black bangles on the arms of the 584 585

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583 626 migrate to a place where nothing is known of their history, for if they should try to remain they cannot enter into the life of any community of that area unless they cast their lot with the lowest of the low.

583 586 623 The above form of the elopement marriage does not have the same standing as the regular forms. If such a union should break up, and the woman go to live with another man, the first man has no right to make a formal complaint to the *panch*, nor can he claim her nor any compensation for her. The *panch* takes no responsibility for irregular unions and this fact is a real deterrent. Marriage would thus seem to have the marks of a contract; it binds the two persons and gives certain proprietory rights which are enforced by the community.

583 585 837 623 The second type of elopement marriage attempts to regularize the procedure after a couple has eloped. In this manner a control over such cases is exercised, and certain obligations must be met or there is a severe social penalty. If a boy runs off with a girl already married, who has also been through the *gauna*[1] part of the total cycle, but who has not become the actual property of her husband, he is required by the *panch* to refund to the party to whom the girl was first married all the expenses in connection with the *lagan*, the *sadi* and the *gauna*. This is a very heavy burden which few would undertake to face, for it may amount to as much as a hundred rupees. And even if he is able to pay he still has to feast the *panch*, and they see that he does it well. Following all this the regular marriage ceremony must be performed with its additional costs and obligations, before the couple are allowed to live together. This makes such an elopement a very costly affair, and the *panch* is in the position absolutely to enforce these penalties.

[584] If the *gauna* has not yet occurred and the girl elopes with another boy, all he has to do is to pay a penalty to the *panch*, but before they are allowed to live together the regular *sadi* must be performed. No *gauna* is thereafter necessary and they begin to cohabit. The regulations are thus much more severe if the *gauna* is passed than if the elopement occurred before it. There are variations in procedure, but this seems to be the custom.

114 184 583 584 2. *The Recognized Form of Marriage* (*Biwah*, *Biyah*). The description which follows is one compiled from investigations made in many places. When we first learned of the marriage customs of the Kols who lived close to Jubbulpore, we thought that the customs

1 See page 93.

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among the Kols living out in the jungles and away from larger centres would be simpler. We were therefore surprised by how consistently various groups gave us similar information. It should be noted that it is not claimed that these customs are peculiar to the Kols. Investigation among the simple village people of Hindu background will probably show that all over this area there is a great similarity in the marriage customs, the details may vary, but not the main outlines. 114 184 583 584

(1) *Selection of the Girl.* When a father considers it time to arrange a marriage for his son it is he who should take the initiative. The first thing he should do is to make some private preliminary enquiries. It is against the custom for the parents of the girl to make any direct advances. In this type of marriage neither the boy nor the girl has anything to say concerning his or her future mate. It is entirely in the hands of the elders. The boy's father may ask some relatives in another village to be on the lookout for a suitable girl, and he will consult the *panch* of his own village to see if any one of them knows of a girl who would make a suitable match for his son. As a result two or three names are suggested as possibilities. The next thing that is ordinarily done is to try to catch a glimpse of the girl without her parents knowing about it. It is best if this can be done by the boy's father, but he may send some trusted member of the *panch* to carry out the investigations for him. If the results are satisfactory, the boy's father reports to his *panch* and asks them if there is any objection to such a marriage. This is done to guard against a marriage which would be objectionable from any angle. The *panch* is usually pretty well posted on matters of relationship, and its opinion, in the absence of written records (for such are never kept by Kols), is authoritative. The father of the boy then arranges to see the girl's father privately, and when he goes he usually takes three or four of his friends from his village with him. In the interview that follows he does not come to the point immediately, but may talk about general matters for some time before bringing up the main question. Mutual enquiries are made concerning the status of the two families, the health of the children, etc. The friends of the father vouch for the accuracy and truth of his statements. If both parties find themselves in accord and if the girl's father is willing to give his daughter, the matter is then with the girl's father and it is he who now consults his *panch* and makes any private enquiries that he sees fit. Up till this time the matter is considered as strictly private and if either of the parties is not satisfied with any of the details and does not wish to follow it up the matter may be dropped without prejudice. 584 623 [217]

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584 (a) *Negotiations.* If the girl's father, after enquiries, is fully satisfied the matter becomes one of real concern. The boy's father is informed of this and a day is set for him and his party of men (the boy and the women do not go and have no formal part) to go to the girl's house and start actual negotiations for the wedding since the matter is now no longer a secret. On the way to the girl's house this party 584 must be sure to take note of good or bad omens. If the latter are 787 frequent they may turn back and decide on a new start at a later hour or even on another day, if the omens have been particularly bad. To pass four people seated together is a good omen and to meet a Hindu *pandit* is another. But to meet a person with an empty vessel is a bad omen, as is also a meeting with a *teli* (oilman). A jackal about [825] to cross the road is a dangerous omen and one should make every attempt to head him off and to stop him from actually crossing the road. If it should occur, the best thing to do under the circumstances is to take a thorny branch, place it in the centre of the road at the point where the jackal crossed, put a heavy stone on top of the branch, and [787] with one foot planted on this stone roundly curse the beast. This will ward off the evil and save the person concerned from disaster.

It was noted that the groom-to-be does not accompany this party 584 nor does any female member of his family go to see the girl. The 574 party of men must take with them certain things, among them *dahi* (curds) kept in a new *markî* (earthenware vessel) which has been nicely whitewashed on the outside and has yellow symbols superimposed. The top is sealed with leaves and securely tied for it is eventually to be presented to the girl's father. They should also take *haldi* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*) and *sendur* (vermilion). When the party arrives at the girl's village they are warmly greeted and brought to the house where the matter is formally discussed and much of the ground previously gone over privately is now publicly repeated. After a formal agreement has been reached by both parties the girl's father should ceremonially wash the feet of the boy's father, but another may do this if the father is unable to do so or is dead. This is a witness to 584 the fact that the matter is now settled and that the match is arranged. 583 The boy's father should at this time make payment of the first instalment of the price agreed upon in their discussions. The figure differs according to locality and is not uniform. It is divided into two parts, the first is paid on this visit and the balance just before the *sadi*. The following figures are typical, the first figure being the first payment: Rs. 8 and 4; 10-8-0 and 5-4-0; 9 and 4-8-0. The larger amount is paid first and half of it later. At Benda village it was claimed that there was no bargaining and that the price was fixed at

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twelve rupees, payable in two equal instalments. Two *saris* are often presented at this time—one for the girl and another for her mother. The washing of the feet and the payment of the bride price are definite expressions of the acceptance of the proposal. Nevertheless, the engagement thus sealed may be broken if either party is dissatisfied. If the girl's side breaks the engagement they must return the bride price and the presents. If the boy's side breaks it they are not entitled to any refund and the money may be kept by the girl's family.

(*b*) *Betrothal and Lagan.* The *lagan* is a letter given by the bride's father to the bridegroom's father, appointing the day of the marriage and ceremonies connected therewith and thus providing an outline for this part of the wedding cycle. The *lagan* should be prepared by the *pandit* of the girl's village or one selected by her family. When the time is ripe for the boy and girl to be formally married the Brahmin priest is called to the house or is informed of the proposal and is asked to write up the *lagan*. The *lagan* should have the complete programme for the *sadi* worked out after consulting horoscopes and taking into account auspicious or inauspicious seasons and circumstances. The best days for weddings are, in order, Monday, Saturday, Thursday and Tuesday, and the *lagan* will take this into account. The luckiest months are *Chaita* (March-April), *Magh* (January-February) and *Phagun* (February-March). After the *lagan* is written the paper is sprinkled with *haldi* water. Here is an actual example of a Kol *lagan*:

SHRI

Shri—may god Ganesh help us. Hari the lord was worshipped with *gur* (raw sugar) and *sendur* (vermilion). The son of Sail named Matukdhari has been selected as the bridegroom. May the lord make the marriage time auspicious.

On Wednesday, the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Magh, the marriage bower will be constructed; on Thursday, the seventh day, the anointing ceremony will take place; on Friday, the eighth, the bridegroom's marriage party will come and on Saturday, the ninth, the circumambulation of the marriage post will take place.

Written by Radha kunji
on the second day of the bright fortnight of Magh.
May all be auspicious!

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For a *lagan* such as the above the *pandit* is paid an amount which varies according to the section of the country. Near Jubbulpore he is said to receive Rs. 1-4-0; in Rewa State it was from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0; in the Kaimur hills annas eight. This is paid by the boy's father who takes the *lagan* to his village where it is read to all who are interested so that they may come to know about the arrangements. It is common to promise the *pandit* a fee for the performing of the ceremonies in connection with the forthcoming wedding. This fee is generally said to be about three rupees and must be paid before the Brahmin will come and begin his work at the expected time. Occasionally there is bargaining between the two, and if the *pandit* thinks that the boy's father can pay more he holds out or compromises for a larger sum. We were told that should the two disagree no marriage is possible until a settlement has been reached, as they cannot ask a Brahmin other than the one who has jurisdiction over the girl's village to perform the ceremonies. A settlement is usually reached before long and the rest of the night is spent in eating, singing and dancing, the women of the girl's house providing for this entertainment. During the meal time the *markí* containing the curds is opened by the girl's father and is shared by both the parties.

In the morning the *pandit* is expected to deliver the *lagan*, which he has prepared the night before. He had to make certain enquiries and consult his books in order to prepare a proper one. Before he arrives with it, preparations are made to receive him. The place where he will sit to read the *lagan* is plastered and in the centre is placed a brass *lota* filled with water, into which two-pice coins have been dropped, and on top of which is set an earthenware *dip* or lamp. The Brahmin may come with the *lagan* already prepared, or he may write it off from memory then and there in their presence. He then reads it to the two parties and gives them any other advice he thinks necessary.

The boy's party usually stays the rest of the day and another night, leaving for their village on the third morning.

The priest is ordinarily used in the later *sadi* which will be performed according to the time set in the *lagan*, but in Maihar State we were informed that after the writing of the *lagan* by the Brahmin he may be dispensed with and the work which he ordinarily would do may be performed by the *bahnoi* (a sister's husband) or the *phupha* (father's sister's husband).

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On the third morning preparations are made by the bridegroom's party to return to their own village. The girl's mother, with other female members of the family or relatives in the village, prepares the

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yellow *haldi* water and keeps it in a number of *lotas*. As the guests are about to depart the women appear with the *haldi* water and *hajra* (lamp-black), the latter being in the form of a paste. The yellow water is sprinkled over the departing guests and the lamp-black is applied just below the eyes. This is considered auspicious and both are believed to have a protective significance. In jest the *hajra* is sometimes applied to other parts of the face and hearty laughs and ridicule result, all of which the party must bear cheerfully. The girl's mother should sprinkle the *haldi* water on the boy's father and after she has done this and put the colour below his eyes she holds her brass *lota* before him and he is expected to drop some money into it—at least one rupee. The rest of the men are then sprinkled by the other women and are also asked to give a gift, but not as much as the father gave. The women then courteously salute and go off taking with them the *lotas* containing the coins.

For a brief time the men of the two parties remain seated together, eat *pan supari* and pass around the *hukka* for a smoke. Finally the boy's party gets up and all go to the edge of the village together where they embrace and separate. This ends the first part of the wedding cycle.

(2) *Domestic Preparations.* The time that is to elapse between the writing of the *lagan* and the *sadi* is fixed by the *lagan* itself and depends on several factors of an astrological nature. Usually there is less than a month between them. During this period there are active preparations in both houses as certain important things must be accomplished.

In the girl's village some uncooked rice coloured with *haldi* is taken around by members of the family and given to those who are to be invited to the ceremonies. With the rice the time and place of the ceremonies are made known. There should be plenty of supplies of food on hand and among the things listed there should be *sendur*, a *dauri* (small basket), new clothes, cash for small gifts and payments, rice, pulse, especially *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and wheat.

(a) *Mangarmati.* The *mangarmati* or *magarmati* is a ceremony whereby a certain amount of earth is obtained from which *chulhas*, or earthen fireplaces, are to be constructed. This ceremony, which is performed at both homes and on the same night, is essentially alike in both the houses and must be performed after sunset. Only the women take part in the gathering of the sacred earth, but we were allowed to watch a *mangarmati* ceremony in the Kaimur hills. It was found that a portion of the courtyard just in front of the house had

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584 796 354 been plastered and marked somewhat according to the accompanying diagram. About eight o'clock in the evening, as we waited nearby with a group of men, the beat of the drum was heard and we went up to the thornfenced enclosure. Only women were allowed within the

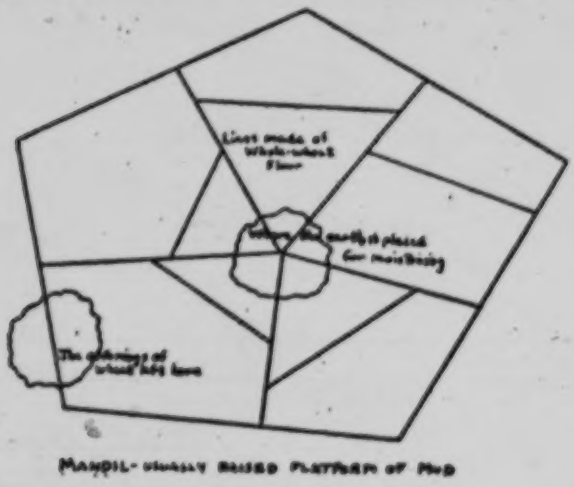

Fig. 19

courtyard, and the men had to remain outside, but a good view was had of the proceedings. The drum was played by a Chamar male, hired for this occasion, who was the only man taking any part in the ceremony. The women and children formed a procession within the [482] courtyard. There were a number of baskets (there should be seven) carried on the heads of unmarried girls, while others carried a pick (*gainti*) and a mattock (*kodali*). The leader and the first in line of the procession should either be the sister of the bride or her *phuphi*, her father's sister. On her head was an earthen jar like a brass *lota* (sometimes the latter may be used) which was filled with water and into [482] which were inserted mango twigs with the leaves attached. On the top of this rested an earthen lamp, *dip*. Figure 20 shows how this was carried. With this light on her head she led the way to the place [523 539] where the earth was dug up and they sang as they proceeded. Some of the songs which were sung at Deosori in the Kaimurs are as follows:

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[482]

THE LEADER OF THE MANGARMĀṬĪ PROCESSION

Fig. 20

1. *Lanka gaye Hanuman,*
Rama Lakshman ghar aye.

To Lanka far went Hanuman,
Then Ram and Lakshman came home.

2. *Mati khodain gai,*
Bichhi marisa haya daiya haya;
Mati khodain gai, bisa le bahu.
Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho.

The clay was dug,
I was bitten by a scorpion—
Alas, Alas!

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The clay was dug,
It poisoned me much—
Alas, Alas, Alas!

3. *Pais par bi jhiliya,*
Jhilmiliya pan.
Char Char bandra,
Ghi, roti, dei.

She stands on a rock by the lake
Her lips are shining with *pan.*
(And she says) "Come along monkey
I shall give you buttered bread."

4. *Sari dekh ke gaya sasurar,*
Aur sarhaj dekh ke lubhaya

Sari dekh ke gaya sasuriya
Dhan dekh ke lubhaya.

He went to his father-in-law's abode,
Drawn by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But there he fell in love with the wife of the bride's brother.

Again he journeyed to his father-in-law's abode
Tempted by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But this time he fell for the wealth of his father-in-law.

All but the first song are really directed at the bride to be, and there are certain implications not always easy to understand. In the second one the idea comes out that the girl even at the *mangarmati* time is liable to be smitten by love enroute to her digging. The third refers to the plight of a young girl caught alone, perhaps, with a tempting mouth, and a vague promise for the future. In the last song the bride is taunted with a song which implies that her lover has not really come because of her. In fact, she has no attraction for him, for it is her married sister, or her sister-in-law or the father-in-law's wealth that really draws him.

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As these songs were sung the party moved slowly forward to the spot where they were to dig; in this case it happened to be not more than seventy-five feet from the house. Upon reaching the spot they formed

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a circle and all the time sang and beat time with their hands, the Chamar accompanying them with his drum. Several of the women took part in the digging of the earth and each girl was allowed but one blow with the pick. The earth thus displaced was gathered up with the mattock and put into the baskets. It was estimated that about thirty pounds were actually brought. The group then returned to the courtyard as slowly as they went but in the reverse order, with the lamp at the rear. The earth was then thrown in the centre of a small raised platform called the *mandil*, though occasionally the *mandil* is made later on from the earth brought in at this time. After the baskets were emptied the women brought water in small earthenware vessels and each threw water on the pile of earth until it was thoroughly soaked. The women then went to another part of the courtyard where each had left a bit of wheat which they brought from their homes when they first came. This was piled at another point and as each presented her wheat the mother dipped a bit of sweet oil from her household oil-jug and gave it to the other women. After this a small cone of cowdung, which is worshipped by unmarried girls, was set up on the *mandil*. See Figure 19.

This earth should be sufficient to make either five or seven *chulhas* and they should be prepared sometime during that night. In Deosori they said that it would be done in the morning, and as it is done only by the women of the household it is likely that it was done after the people had departed. The party broke up at this point and from twenty to twenty-five women and young girls departed. This happened at 9 P.M. Occasionally there is a feast following the *mangarmati*, but there was none in this particular case.

The next day the *chulhas* constructed from this earth should be ready for the preparation of the *lawa*, a mixture of parched paddy and millet, which is considered an indispensable part of the wedding preparations. During the time of its preparation there is joking and fooling. Before they can start to parch the rice one of the male members brings a young chicken and thrusts it into the lighted *chulha*. If the chicken does not catch fire and die (that is, if the *chulha* is not hot enough) it becomes the property of the male relative, but if it dies the women take it and make it into a curry. If the chicken catches fire no effort is made to save it. The parching of rice may now begin and this should be initiated by the man who brought the chicken. The same *chulha* which was used for the burning of the chicken should not be used for the subsequent parching. As the man commences his work some of his female relatives approach him and do all they can to disturb his work and irritate him. They may throw mud at him, abuse

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584 him verbally (give *gali*), take all kinds of liberties with him, and try
252 their best to make him lose his temper. He is supposed to take no
[578] notice of this but to remain calmly at his work. After the *lawa* is
prepared (the man does not prepare all that is required) it is put into
[532] a new *ghara* decorated with pictures representing females. Sometimes
other articles are also put into the *ghara* —uncooked rice, bits of *supari*
nut, *haldi* and two-pice coins. When prepared at the bride-groom's
house the *lawa* is kept to be taken with the boy's party on their trip
to the girl's village for the *sadi* and is there mixed with the *lawa* pre-
pared in the girl's house for use at the time of the wedding. The
preparation of the *lawa*, which is made a day or two before the group
[574 leaves for the wedding, is made the occasion for the reconciliation of
626 estranged relatives within the village and the consequent restoration
578] of friendship. This reconciliation may also be extended to any
member of the *kurhi* with whom there have been unhappy relations.

584 (b) *Marriage Booth: Marhwa.* In the meantime there has been
349 far more to do at the girl's house where the actual wedding is to take
place, for the wedding booth (*marhwa* or *mandap*) must be constructed
there. This is usually set up in the courtyard immediately in front
of the girl's house. In this booth the essentials of the marriage cere-
mony are performed and the sacred pole is fixed at its centre. Male
relatives of the bridegroom help to build it, but women must have
nothing to do with its construction. Before the men who come to
work can actually start operations the bridegroom must have his body
[302, rubbed with *til* oil mixed with *haldi*. The anointing should be done
602 by his sister or another close female relative and he should then be
543] dressed in clothes which have been dipped in *haldi* water. The con-
struction of the *marhwa* may now begin.

584 The *marhwa* is constructed of prescribed kinds of wood. Its
349 size varies, but is usually about eight feet square and six to seven feet
824 high. Nine poles are used in its construction, including the central
post, called the *magrohan*, which however does not reach up to the
roof. *Saleh* (*Boswellia serrata*) is the most favoured kind of wood
and if procurable is preferred, both for the framework of the booth
and for the sacred pole at its centre. The eight remaining poles are
arranged so that there are three on a side. Text figure 21 will make
this clear.[1] If *saleh* wood is not available, *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*), *sal*
(*Sheora robusta*), *char* (*Buchanania latifola*) or even bamboo are per-
missible. The central post, however, must be of *saleh* wood and they
search far and wide until they have found it. The leaves of the banana
plant are tied to each of the eight poles and over the top. The

[1] [on p. 86. Awal 75]

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roof is formed by bamboo branches covered with banana leaves. Around the upper edge of the *marhwa* is hung a frieze of mango twigs. Mango leaves are always found in connection with Kol weddings; they do not wither easily and are a symbol of everlastingness and stability. Stripe of paper, usually coloured red, are used for decoration. The ground under the *marhwa* is carefully levelled and plastered with cowdung and in the very centre a hole twelve to eighteen inches deep is dug. This is where the central pole will be placed. Before the pole is lowered into position a *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*), some pieces of *haldi* (usually five) and two-pice coins are placed in the pit, and according to some accounts, rice coloured with *haldi* is also thrown in. The *magrohan* is a piece of wood three to four feet in length and two to four inches in diameter. It should preferably be green wood, though a dry pole is used if a fresh one is not available. It is coloured red with *sendur* or yellow with *haldi* and has some thread, coloured either white or yellow, wrapped about it seven times from the top to the bottom. Along with the *magrohan* a short green bamboo stick is fixed together with a green *gular* branch and the iron bar used in digging the holes for the booth. If the central post should be of *gular* or other wood a bit of *saleh* must be inserted with it. The *saleh* is a symbol of fertility, being an evergreen tree which never withers and takes root easily and quickly; even an apparently dry stick will sprout. After the *magrohan* has been put in place it is reverently circuited by the builders seven times in a clockwise direction and then *sendur* and cowdung are applied. The sacred pole stands at the centre of the wedding observances and at that time is surrounded by the articles now to be mentioned. Their position is indicated in figure 21 on the next page.

584 ● 349 82f [237] [386] [842] 584 349 [788]

1. The *magrohan*.
2. A *kulsi* (earthenware pot) filled with water. In the water there are mango leaves which are allowed to protrude at the top and over the top is placed a *dip* or earthenware lamp. [415]
3. A *sil* (grinding stone) on which are placed the following articles noted in the sub-heads: [412]
   a. A *lorha* (stone roller)—which the bridegroom will use to roll over the pice and disturb their arrangement.
   b. Husked rice, which is sprinkled over the surface of the *sil*.
   c. Seven pice coins which are laid in a row on top of the rice.
   d. Seven bits of wood, each a different kind.
   e. A whole *supari* nut.
   f. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over the whole.
4. A branch of *gular* or *pakria* (*Butea frondosa*) buried near the *magrohan*. In a crotch of the same will be inserted a small earthen pot containing *haldi*, *supari* nut and two pice. [824] [415]

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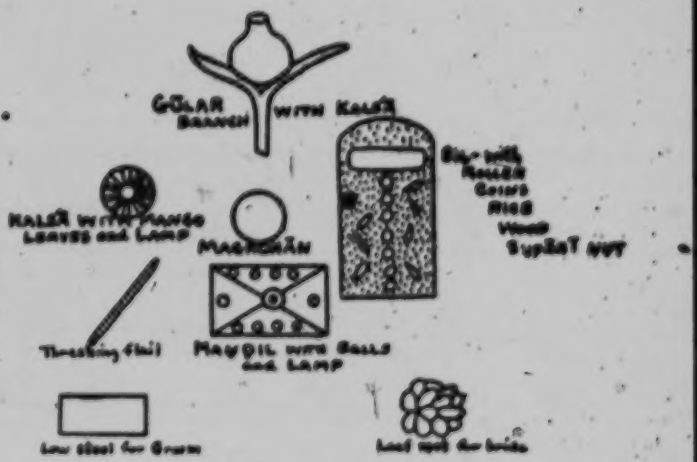

Fig. 21

5. A flat cone of earth (mandā) about one foot high and a foot in diameter on which are placed arranged its edge eight to ten small round balls of earth. Over the whole four arches of earth are constructed and in the centre another dip is set.

6. A pīra (low stool) on which the bridegroom will be seated.

7. A small mat of large leaves on which the bride will sit.

8. A sūpaṛ (threshing flail).

[352]
[412]

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585 NUPTIALS--wedding (e.g., preferred time and place; ceremonial, persons attending and officiating); symbolic rites; means of assuring publicity and legality (e.g., banns, licenses); civil and ecclesiastical weddings; variations dependent upon status; associated property transactions (e.g., transfer of gifts, of bride-price); homecoming of bridal couple; consummation (e.g., immediate or deferred, private or public); defloration rites (e.g., jus primae noctis); concern for virginity of bride (e.g., exhibiting tokens); postwedding events (e.g., honeymoon, exchange of visits); status and activities of newly married persons; etc. *See also:*

Marital sexuality . . . . . 83 Residence in marriage 591

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252 *Pulses or dals* are cooked separately, having been first soaked in water for a period. They are cooked into a thick soup, and a portion of this is either mixed with the rice and curry or is put to one side of the plate and eaten with the rice.

Khichri. This is a preparation of rice, pulse and spices. Meat may also be used with it. Clarified butter is also used. The rice and pulse are mixed and soaked for a few hours. The spices are next mixed and made ready to put in and some onions are fried in clarified butter and are put on top after the *khichri* has been prepared. The rice, *dal* and spices are cooked together until ready. There are usually about three parts of rice to one part of *dal*. The new bride when first [585] coming to her husband's home is required to demonstrate her ability to cook by preparing *khichri*.

Curries may be either purely vegetable or they may have meat in them as well. Among the vegetables used in a typical curry would be onion, ginger, *haldi*, and potato. Salt and spices will be added. These will be fried together and later water will be added to make a gravy. When meat is used it is cut into small lumps and both fried and boiled.

Meats are usually boiled in fat in large vessels. Fish is sometimes wrapped in dry grass and the grass burnt, and the fish is ready.

Fruits are usually eaten raw.

Some of the special dishes commonly found among the Kols are the following :

Lai is much like puffed rice. Unhusked rice is warmed in a pan until the husks come off and only the grain is left. The rice in turn is put into an iron vessel in which sand has been heated over a hot fire. The heat expands the rice and when the whole has been puffed, the sand is shaken out and the *lai* remains. Sometimes this is sweetened by being sprinkled with syrup.

Lawa is another name for *lai*. But it is not sweetened and sometimes parched corn or millet is mixed with it.

Laddu is essentially a mixture of wheat flour and sugar. White flour is taken and to it is added enough clarified butter to make it into a dough. This is browned over a fire. Sugar is added as well as more *ghi*, and the whole is moulded into balls. If available, nuts and raisins may be mixed in. Sometimes the whole is soaked in a syrup made from sugar.

Bara. Black pulse is the main ingredient. This is husked and cleaned and soaked from eight to twelve hours in order that it may become quite soft. This is next ground on a grindstone (*sil*) with the stone roller until it becomes a fine smooth dough. While being ground

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sometimes silver, or again may be of cheaper metals. These are allowed to rub one against the other and make a tinkling sound as they move. There are ten toe-rings, one for each toe. It is not to be thought that these things are all worn continually. A few are always worn, and when some opportunity arises to wear the others, they are put on.

A lac *tiki* is stuck on the forehead of young married women. This is put on by the husband in order that all may see that she is married and also to protect both of them.

TATTOOING. Every woman should have tattoo marks (*godna*) upon her body. Men are not tattooed. The time for this varies. Among more Hinduized sections it is said that it should be done at puberty, that is, at the ages of ten to twelve. Again, and it seems to be the more common custom among the Kols, the *godna* is done shortly before the marriage. In certain cases which we came across, it was said to have been done after marriage. Kols do not do the tattooing themselves, but it is done by the regular tattooer called *bajigar* or *godnari*.

On the accompanying text figures tattoo designs copied from Kol women are shown. There is generally a purpose for each position. Design 1 is placed on various parts of the body. It is found over the right kidney region to take away pain. It is also put on the breasts to ensure a good supply of milk. On the palms of the hands it is believed to help in making *chapatis* light and palatable; on the arms it is supposed to benefit the husband, while on the face it is purely decorative.

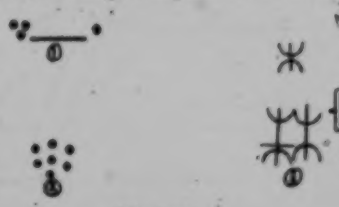

Fig. 12

Design 2 was found inside the left wrist.

Design 3 was on the right leg and takes away pain.

Design 4 was on the outside of the upper left arm. It was mainly decorative, but a protective significance was also suggested. It was said that in this case it took two hours to tattoo the design and that it was a very painful process. (See figure 13.)

Design 5 was found on the same woman on the outside of the left forearm. Another Kol woman had design 6 on the inside of the left forearm. This same woman had design 7 on the outside of the upper left arm. (See figures 14, 15, 16.)

There are certain traditions connected with tattooing. We were once told that when a Kolin is cremated Bhagawan catches the hand which has the *godna* and conducts her to *Baikunth*. Therefore, it is

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same as Borowar on our list; Bin and Binj are probably the same, and Harwariya may have become Garhvariya; the ploughman becoming the fortress-dweller.

Russell and Hiralal[1] state that they found the subcastes noted below, but their results appear to be based on materials gathered from the eastern edge of the Central Provinces. It will be noted that there are points of agreement and disagreement between their list and ours: Rautia, Rautele, Thakuriya, Kagwaria, Desaha, Bharia, Savar and Khairwar. They also include as "totemistic septs" the following: Bargaiyan, Kathotia, Katharia, Kumhra and Bhuwar.

1. *Rautiya.* This designation is believed to be derived from the word Rawat meaning "a prince," and as such may be traced to some ancient landholding or warrior group among the Kols in centuries past. This group claims to be the highest of the Kol *kurhis* and such assertions were usually not disputed by either Thakuriyas or others in joint group discussions; although on one or two occasions it was controverted as recorded under the Thakuriya (*vide p.* 41). Almost without exception the Rautiyas make use of the Brahmin priest at the time of wedding, and of the Hindu *nai* or barber, and the *dhobi* or washerman in certain ceremonies connected with birth and death. Not to do this would be to sin against social conventions; yet in one or two cases we were told that if a Rautiya is too poor to employ a Brahmin he might make other arrangements. This probably means that far back in their history they attended to such matters themselves, but have now become Hinduized and feel unable to act for themselves. Rautiyas made the claim that they move freely among Hindus and are recognized by them in a manner that other Kol *kurhis* are not. While the group is theoretically endogamous, hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas. This is probably a relic from the time when intermarriage was common, but the process of Hinduization has now stabilized the *kurhis*. They admit that if necessary Thakuriya girls may be married to Rautiya boys, but deny that they ever give their girls in marriages to Thakuriyas. If a *swasaha* Rautiya—those whom perform marriage without the help of a Brahmin—has an eligible son they would give their daughter to him in marriage only if it is agreed that the Brahmin priest and the *nai*, will officiate in the regular way.

Rautiyas have a very definite taboo in the case of the horse. Horse manure is absolutely forbidden to be touched. There are several curious stories that came to our attention. One of them is that in the dim ages past Bhagawan gave the Kols the gift of a horse. In a few

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Article Kol.

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582 [587]

occasionally she is taken as his wife if he is unmarried or is able to support another wife. No trace of the sororate was found among the Kols.

BARS TO MARRIAGE. Before marriage is possible there are a few other matters that must be carefully checked. That the younger child must never be married before the elder, is a custom quite commonly observed all over India; the proper and the correct thing is to marry the children in the order of their ages. There is another interesting limitation; the eldest boy of a family (*Jetha*) must never marry the eldest girl (*Jetha* or *Jethi*) in the month of *Jetha* (May-June). If this be done it is bound to result in a very unhappy and quarrelsome match.

582 732

Physical or mental defects are also bars to marriage, or at least to satisfactory marriages. A person who is half-witted or deformed has very little chance of making a favourable marriage. Often such children do not survive, not through any deliberate action on the part of the parents, but being so helpless, or unable to take care of themselves as the children of the poor must do, they are simply not able to survive. Blind girls generally remain unmarried, but a blind boy who knows some kind of hand work which he may use to help support his wife may be married. If deformed children survive and do not get married they remain at home where their parents support them.

582 [836]

If a Kol bachelor should "keep" a woman he is not allowed to contract a real marriage until such time as this woman is renounced; the *panch* sees to this. It is not unknown that a bachelor may keep a young widow, give her up for marriage with another girl, and then after those formalities are over and forgotten, bring her back into his house as a kept woman. He will have to pay a fine or give a feast as the *panch* decides, but he is not forced to drive her out.

[837 684 692]

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Sometimes a man feels that he cannot stand the expense and obligations that go with a *pakka* or real marriage. He desires to marry, say, a certain girl, or his parents want him to do so, and there can be found no valid objection to such a match, nor is there any element in it which would force an elopement. In such a case the matter is put up to the *panchayat* and if it is ascertained that the woman in question has not been married before and that there are no other valid bars to the marriage the permission may be given. Instead of the wedding formalities the only expense involved is that of feeding the proper persons—the *panch*, the relatives, or perhaps the whole community. This decision usually rests with the *panch* itself. The formal ceremonies consist in the putting of ten black bangles on the arms of the

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585 woman, the smearing of a little *sendur* on her forehead, and the distribution of something to eat.

582 [178 184] THE AGE FOR MARRIAGE. Because of the influence of Hinduism adult marriage among the Kols is not so much the rule as it is amongst certain more isolated Munda groups. The Kols generally recommend a fairly young age as the best for marriage. They told us that a boy should be married when between the ages of seven and ten and a girl when six or eight. Of course the young folks do not live together as [585] man and wife at these ages; the actual consummation of the marriage occurs at the *gauna* time when the boy is twelve to fifteen and the girl ten to twelve. The practice of early marriage is deeply ingrained in the social thought of India in general for it has been the tradition and India is tenacious in its observances of this tradition handed down from ancient times. The usual reason advanced is that it protects both parties from promiscuous sexual relations. From their own reports the Kols give the impression that early marriages are very common among them, yet an examination of Census Reports does not seem to indicate that Kols are particularly addicted to early marriages. The report for 1931[1] lists eighty castes, tribes and races in the order 171 of the incidence of child marriage. The Kols stand sixty-third on 582 the list with only 3.4% of their married females being under thirteen years of age. At the head of the list are found the Golars, a nomadic shepherd group with 21.9% of their married females being under thirteen. They are a relatively small group. But the Telis, a "clean" Hindu caste of oil makers which has a large number of members in the Central Provinces, report 13.8%. The Brahmins in the same Province have 3.5% and thus the Kols come just below them. From this evidence it would appear that the Kols are not extreme in their practice of early marriage. However, the definition of marriage may be different and may refer to the time of actual consummation and the living together of the couple as man and wife.

583 KINDS OF MARRIAGE. For the Kols there is but one approved and genuine form though, as we have noted, there are cases where people are living together and recognized as man and wife without the performance of a marriage ceremony in the accepted sense. Among the Birhors Roy reports ten different kinds of marriages which are recognized as valid.[2] Among the Dudh and Dhelki Kharias he lists five types of recognized marriages: (1) Regular, (2) Elopement,

1 *Census of India*, 1931, xiii, p. 180.
2 Roy, S. C., *The Birhors*, pp. 146 ff.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

583 626 migrate to a place where nothing is known of their history, for if they should try to remain they cannot enter into the life of any community of that area unless they cast their lot with the lowest of the low.

583 586 623 The above form of the elopement marriage does not have the same standing as the regular forms. If such a union should break up, and the woman go to live with another man, the first man has no right to make a formal complaint to the *panch*, nor can he claim her nor any compensation for her. The *panch* takes no responsibility for irregular unions and this fact is a real deterrent. Marriage would thus seem to have the marks of a contract; it binds the two persons and gives certain proprietory rights which are enforced by the community.

583 585 837 623 The second type of elopement marriage attempts to regularize the procedure after a couple has eloped. In this manner a control over such cases is exercised, and certain obligations must be met or there is a severe social penalty. If a boy runs off with a girl already married, who has also been through the *gauna*[1] part of the total cycle, but who has not become the actual property of her husband, he is required by the *panch* to refund to the party to whom the girl was first married all the expenses in connection with the *lagan*, the *sadi* and the *gauna*. This is a very heavy burden which few would undertake to face, for it may amount to as much as a hundred rupees. And even if he is able to pay he still has to feast the *panch*, and they see that he does it well. Following all this the regular marriage ceremony must be performed with its additional costs and obligations, before the couple are allowed to live together. This makes such an elopement a very costly affair, and the *panch* is in the position absolutely to enforce these penalties.

[584] If the *gauna* has not yet occurred and the girl elopes with another boy, all he has to do is to pay a penalty to the *panch*, but before they are allowed to live together the regular *sadi* must be performed. No *gauna* is thereafter necessary and they begin to cohabit. The regulations are thus much more severe if the *gauna* is passed than if the elopement occurred before it. There are variations in procedure, but this seems to be the custom.

114 184 583 584 2. *The Recognized Form of Marriage* (*Biwah*, *Biyah*). The description which follows is one compiled from investigations made in many places. When we first learned of the marriage customs of the Kols who lived close to Jubbulpore, we thought that the customs

1 See page 93.

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(3) *The Wedding Ceremony. The Sadi.* The actual wedding is divided into three parts, each occurring on a different day and the whole lasting three days. There is first the arrival of the *barat*—the party which brings the bridegroom and which reaches the girl's village on the evening of the first day. The next part occurs on the following night and is the wedding proper, the *sadi* ; and finally the bridegroom departs for his own home on the third day and this is called the *bida* or farewell. 585 ●

(a) *Barat.* A day or two after the parching of the *lawa* there are preparations at the bridegroom's house for the departure from thence for the house of the bride. The *barat* is usually so planned that it arrives at the girl's village just after dusk. The *barat* is made up entirely of men, and women are not permitted to accompany the procession. Before the *barat* can leave there is a feast given to its members by the women of the family. Following this the bridegroom is put into a *palki* or litter. The party also takes with it various things needed for the *sadi* including the *lawa*, a *barain* (small whitish-coloured earthenware pot decorated with yellow figures and in which are carried a *seer* of rice and, if in season, two mangoes), seven *dips* (earthenware lamps), and a *dahingar* (a decorated earthen pot like the *barain* in which *dahi*—curds—are kept). These things are carried by the party in baskets on their heads, but in the *palki* will be put the *sendur*, *kankan* (black and red beads strung on a thin iron wire), some toys and *gobar* (cowdung). Some one to beat the drum should accompany the party which leaves the boy's village amid music and singing. The women who remain behind are busy preparing for the return of the bridegroom and his party three days later. [562] [574] [493] [482] 585 574

The procession should not arrive in the village until night has fallen. Upon its arrival it does not at once enter the village, but stops some distance away and with drums and singing announces its presence. The girl's party which has been waiting the arrival of the *barat* is now summoned by her father. The women of the bride's party accompany the men in greeting the *barat* and the group proceeds to the edge of the village with lights, the person carrying the leading light being either the girl's sister or a female cousin. This light is carried on top of an earthen jar resting on the head in a manner similar to the way the light is carried at the *mangarmati* time. The men of the party bring a *chhattari*, or an umbrella made of bamboo branches and leaves from the *palasa* tree. Like the crown in Europe, the umbrella in village India is essentially a symbol of sovereignty. A *mashal*, or torch on the end of a pole is also brought and waved about in imitation of a battle. The men of the two parties now meet and greet one [354] 482] [293] [354]

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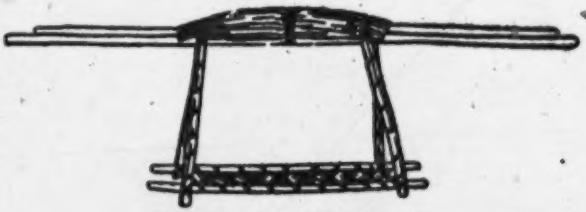
585 574 another. In more Hinduized communities they may set off fireworks at this time if they can afford them. The arrangement for these is made by a Basor. In the midst of this din the girl's father speaks to the boy's father and tells him that they are glad that they have come, that they will expect them to tarry for some days in their village, and that everything possible will be done for their comfort. As the best wedding months are usually dry and pleasant, the boy's party may be accommodated under a large tree. Wherever they are put, the place is called the *janmasa*. If there is an available house so much the better.

[493]



The Wedding Shed - Bhogtadeo

Fig. 22

On entering the village the two parties repair to the bride's house, led by the woman with the lamp on her head. Upon reaching the house the rice is taken out of the *barain*, pipes are passed around, for a smoke, and even drinks may be offered. During this time the bridegroom has remained seated in his *palki* which is now brought close to the marriage booth. He reaches out and shakes the booth, to test, as it were, its strength and workmanship. The girl's mother comes to the *palki* and with the thumb and little finger of her right hand dabs a bit of vermilion on the forehead of her future son-in-law and then pours out the water which was in the *kalsa* with the light that brought them into the village. Members of each group should bring *gular* or *semal* twigs, as the case may be, which have been plastered with *gobar* and which have some *tikas* (dabs) of *sendur* on them. These are laid in the centre of the booth next to the *magrohan*. The *ghara* of *lawa* is taken by a member of the boy's group, who walks round the *palki* seven times with it. After the seventh round the boy's *maur* or wedding crown (made up usually, of peacock feathers, bamboo and palm leaves) is removed and the party retires to the place prepared for them, the *janmasa*.

[276] [273] [293] [262]

Arriving at the *janmasa* they settle themselves and are again supplied with smokes by members of the bride's household. Pre-

[276]

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parations are then made for the bridegroom to eat *lahakaur*, the food prepared especially for the occasion. This may be of several types. It is sometimes said to consist of rice, pulse, *puris* and *bara*; and again of milk, rice and sugar. This is brought by a female member of the family, the *sarhaj* (bride's brother's wife) being preferred. Before the boy is asked to eat the *lahakaur* two women dressed in dancing garments make their appearance; they sing and dance and are accompanied by some men with their drums. This party advances towards the *janmasa* singing songs which contain many questionable allusions and are considered as *gali* (abuse). They carry the emptied *kalsa* with the lighted lamp still on top of it, and place it before the boy who is asked to go around it seven times and sit down. When he has done this the *sarhaj* tries to make him eat the *lahakaur*; she brings it up to his mouth five times in her right hand and after smelling it as many times he refuses to eat. She is paid four annas for this by the boy's father. There is more singing and the giving of *gali* by both sides. Finally the *sarhaj* brings a *lota* of water and washes the feet of the members of the boy's party and at the same time openly counts them so that they may know how many will need food. Much of this food has already been cooked but it is not served till midnight or later. In the meantime, during the meal, and even for the rest of the night, there are songs and the *dadra* dance.

About eleven o'clock the next morning the members of the bridegroom's party take their morning meal at the bride's house, but the groom stays by himself in the *janmasa* where his food is brought to him. When the others arrive their feet are washed as before and each member is given a *lota* of water so that he may wash his hands. The male members of the two parties always eat together first and the meal is usually served on leaf-plates, or, if they are available, brass ones. The men then go for a chat and rest and sometime later the women take their food. At no time do the men and women eat together.

(*b*) *Sadi*. The Actual Ceremony. The evening of the second day sees the performance of the marriage proper, the *sadi*. The premises of the girl's house are again plastered and all made clean and ready. The Brahmin priest who wrote the *lagan* is expected to arrive after nightfall. If the family should decide to dispense with his services the part of the priest may be taken by the *phupha* (father's sister's husband). The priest first marks out a square, called the *chauk*, on the plastered portion of the courtyard not far from the wedding booth, using whole wheat flour to mark the lines. A *kalsa* is then placed at its centre into which will be thrown the gifts for the

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585 couple.' The bridegroom soon arrives dressed in his wedding garments, being brought thence in the *palki*. In the *palki* there is some *sendur* and a pair of shoes which are for the bride, and which his father removes and gives to the girl's representative for use later on. The *sendur* is used during the ceremony to mark her forehead. The bridegroom is now helped out of his *palki* and is asked by the priest to [732] worship certain deities and as he does so he gives each a small offering of money.

The bride now makes her appearance for the first time; up till now she has been secluded in the house and none of the male members of either party has seen her. So now the bridegroom sees her for the first time, but only her form, as her face is covered with a part of her *sari*. She sits beside her future husband on the *chauk* and the priest repeats some Sanskrit formulas, but what they were we were unable to ascertain.

The time is now ready for the offerings to be presented to the persons about to be married. (At one place this was said to come later). This is called *chari* and comes from the groom's side. As they [431] come forward with their gifts they first touch the feet of those about to be married and then cast their gifts into the *kalsa* in the centre of the *chauk*. The usual gifts are money, clothes and brass vessels, and as far as possible these are thrown into the *kalsa*. But if one wishes to give a chicken, a goat, or even a cow he says, "I give a chicken" and makes a motion as if he were throwing it into the waiting vessel. This gift will be given later on. In reality this is a worshipping of the couple. If the girl has a brother he now appears with a small *lota* of water and a *thali* (tray). The girl is asked to stretch out her hands before her, the tray is placed beneath them and the water poured over her hands and into it.

The *lawa* is now served. It will be recalled that this was prepared at both houses after the *mangarmali* ceremony and the two portions are now brought and mixed together. Some *batasas* (small sugar-like wafers) are also added, the whole being mixed by the girl's brother. When he is satisfied that this has been well done he takes out seven handfuls, one at a time, which he places one by one into the washed hands of his sister which are still stretched before her. She receives each handful and places it on another *thali* set before her. This is called the *lawa parsana* (or *parosna*) and the bridegroom's party pays the boy four annas for it. The mixture, now called *bran*, is placed near the *magrohan* in the centre of the wedding booth. Some incense is put [789] into the fire burning there and some of the *bran* is used to make a magic circle about it.

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The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to the *marhwa*, and the latter is seated on the low wooden stool while the former sits either on a small mat of *palasa* leaves or on a low square made of mud and cow dung on his left. The *pandit* reads some sacred words, (supposedly from the Vedas) and as he does so the couple is instructed to throw *ghi* and rice coloured with *haldi* into the sacred fire. Each time the fire blazes up the priest utters the words *swaha*, *swaha*, meaning 'accepted', 'accepted'. This is really a *hom* offering. The *lagan* is sometimes read again at this stage.

The couple are asked to stand together, the girl being on the left of the boy. Some of the *sendur* is passed to him which he, with a silver coin, applies to the girl's forehead. As they stand there the *pandit* makes them promise to forgive each other at least seven times during their married life. After the promise the ends of their clothes are tied together, usually by the girl's sister. Into the knot that joins the two should be put a *takka* (a two-pice coin), some *haldi* and bits of a *supari* nut. Then begins the *bhanwar* or circumambulation of the bride and bridegroom about the sacred pole. If the couple are too young to live together and the marriage is not to be immediately consummated by her going to his house, there will be but five rounds of the *magrohan* For four of the five rounds the boy walks ahead, and the wife, the ends of the clothes still tied, follows, but on the fifth round the girl precedes the boy. The fire and pole are always kept to their right and they move round them in a clockwise direction. After the completion of each round they stop and the girl puts her right foot on the *sil* (the flat stone used for grinding spices). While she stands thus her brother or a representative makes a round of the pole with the *barain* containing the remainder of the *lawa*.

After the five rounds are completed (there would have been seven had the couple been old enough to live together) the two, still tied together, retire into the house, the girl leading the way. The women in a jesting manner attempt to bar their entrance and the pair have to force their way through. Rude songs and jokes of a sexual nature are now in order. Members of both parties have been given some of the seven handfuls of *lawa* kept in the booth and this is thrown upon the couple. Inside the house a lamp (*dip*) has been left under a basket, thus giving but little light to the room. The girl's mother asks the boy to take up the basket and blow out the light. He does not consent to do this until he receives a gift from his mother-in-law. Sometimes the challenge is for him to light a second lamp from the first. When he gets the desired gift he takes off the basket, but does not blow out the light. When this is done the knot is untied and his *maur*

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(wedding crown) is removed. He then turns to his bride and takes off a portion of the *sari* covering her head and sees her features for the first time. She immediately covers her head again. This is repeated seven times but after the seventh he does not again remove the covering, and it is said that henceforth her head is to remain covered to the day of her death if he outlives her, and to the day of his death if she becomes a widow. A *sari* cloth is now brought and is wrapped about the boy and girl; in the seclusion of this the boy puts some *sendur*, with the little finger of his right hand, on the girl's forehead indicating that she is now a married woman. The first three fingers should on no account be used. The Brahmin now takes his leave, for his work is done, and he is paid a fee usually amounting to Rs. 1-4-0.

The boy soon comes out of the house and greets his friends and tells his party that it is time for them to retire to the *janmasa*. Before they are allowed to depart, however, they are invited to a feast close to the *marhwa*. Their feet are again washed and a feast, as lavish as can be managed, is given them. At least the following should be provided: rice, pulse, *bara*, *puris*, curds, spices and sweets. Sometimes there is drinking but the Kols are not much addicted to this. The bridegroom begins the feast by taking the first mouthful; then the others may start. Usually they eat seated in a circle on the ground and are entertained at the time by singing and dancing. The bridegroom is paid four annas for starting things off and the rest of the night is spent in this manner.

(*c*) *Bida* (or *bidai*): The Return of the Bridegroom to his House. The returning party leaves the girl's village on the third day. About noon on that day there is another feast, the final one, which is only for the members of the departing company, except that the bridegroom's *sar* (brother-in-law) also eats with them. The groom refuses to eat until his mother-in-law promises him a gift such as a goat or a cow. The bridegroom is also presented with the gifts which were made to the couple and these are handed over to his *swasa* to keep for him. The men of both parties embrace and put a *tika* of *sendur* on one another, each man waving a pice over the head of another and then presenting it to him. *Ilachi* (cardamom), *pan* and *supari* are distributed.

The women now appear in a group and the mother-in-law puts lamp black under the eyes of the boy's father and also sprinkles a bit of *haldi* water over him. The other women do the same to the remaining members of the bridegroom's party. A bit of lac on a string is sometimes tied about their necks. The boy's father drops a rupee into

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the *lota* belonging to the girl's mother and the others drop as much as they can afford into the *lotas* of the other women. During this time neither the bride nor the groom is present. 585

The *marhwa* must now be untied for it has served its purpose and both the bride and the groom are called for this, the groom being seated in his *palki* ready for his departure. There is singing and dancing around the *marhwa*. The boy leaves his *palki* and enters the girl's house and the two are again tied together and the boy crowned. They come out side by side and both get into the *palki* which is to carry the bridegroom to his home. The women of the house take a pice in their right hand and waving it over the couple give it to the bearers of the *palki*. The women perform the wave ceremony yet once again, but this time do not use money but instead a *supa* (winnowing fan), and all the time the drummer beats the drum vigorously. The *palki*, however, does not move off, as the knot must be untied and the girl gets out, for she is not yet ready to go to her husband. The girl disappears into her house and the women go in with her. The two groups of men move out toward the edge of the village and a short distance beyond they bid each other farewell; thus comes the end of the second part of the wedding cycle.

The *marhwa* is taken down four to eight days after the *sadi*. It is torn down by the *swasa* who is helped by four or five men. The eight supporting poles are of no particular significance now and are usually thrown somewhere near the house where they are eventually used for fuel. The *magrohan* must be treated differently. Sometimes it is just left in the ground and grows into a tree, or if it should fail to do this it rots away. If it is removed, as is the usual procedure, it should not be carelessly thrown aside. Sometimes it is kept in the house, but more frequently is carried by the women, who sing and chant as they go, to a near-by stream or tank where it is ceremonially thrown into the water. [237] Afterwards the area is plastered with cow dung to make the whole spick and span.

(4) *Gauna:* The Return of the Groom for his Bride. The third part of the marriage cycle is called the *gauna*, literally the going or moving. On this occasion the girl goes for the first time to the boy's home. Up till now she has not been alone with him, nor even talked to him in any confidential way. She knows nothing of the womenfolk in the boy's house with whom she has to live for a time until she has a home of her own. [591] The time lapsing between the *sadi* and the *gauna* depends upon the ages of the couple; in certain cases where both have reached the age of puberty the *gauna* may immediately

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585 [582] follow the *sadi*, but more often a period of several years separates the two. The girl should be between ten and twelve and the boy between twelve and fifteen before the *gauna* ceremony can be performed. The exact time depends upon the *pandit* and upon auspicious days and seasons.

When the time for the *gauna* has come a large party carrying the bridegroom in a *palki* leaves the boy's home much in the same manner as they departed for the *sadi*. The boy's party is once more welcomed but the ceremony is not quite so elaborate as it was before. On the second night the Brahmin may be called in, though not always, and the remaining two circumambulations (*bhanwars*) of the fire are made. This time, however, there is no *marhwa* nor *magrohan*. The place where the final ceremony is performed is simply plastered and [237] in the centre of the spot is set up a low mound made of cow dung; beside it is placed a *kachha kalsa* (an earthen pot not yet fired), on top of which is a brass plate containing (1) a *dip* burning with *ghi*, (2) *sendur* paste, and (3) a whole cocoanut. The couple are tied together as before and go round the fire twice, thus completing the seven rounds [574] in all. This makes the marriage *pakka* and the final ceremony is [533] followed by feasting, singing and dancing which last the rest of the [535] night.

Sometime during the next day the couple depart for the boy's home. They are tied together and seat themselves in the same *palki* which the bearers carry a few yards and then set down while the knot is untied and the bridegroom gets out leaving the *palki* for the bride. He either gets into another one or joins the party on foot. Just before this party, which now consists of the group that went with him, reinforced by men from the girl's home, arrives at the boy's house the *palki* is set down, the boy again gets into it, and the knot is once more tied. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over them and pice are waved over the bearers who are again presented with the coins. Upon arriving at the house the couple find a new cloth five yards long and a yard wide spread on the ground leading from the path to the door of the groom's house and at one end of this the *palki* is put down. As the bride is about to get out she is presented with a tray of balls made of water and whole wheat flour. At each step she must deposit one on the cloth at her feet. Her husband follows, for he is still tied to her and as he comes he must pick up the balls and put them into a small *thali* (tray). Inside the house the knot is untied for the last time. From the *palki* the women bring a seer or two of uncooked rice along [262] with a few other supplies including pulse, which the bride had brought with her in order that she might prepare a dish known as *khichri*, a

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585 [262]

food made by boiling the pulse and the rice together. When this is prepared she offers each of the male guests a portion of it and they in turn give her from two to four annas which she is allowed to keep for her own use. Following this there is a big feast at the boy's house and the night is spent in chatting, singing and dancing.

(5) *Raman* or *Rauna:* Final Break with her Family. There now remains one more thing, which is the simplest of all to do: to bring the bride back for good. The *raman* is the last part of the cycle and is the taking possession of the girl and the bringing her for the last time to the bridegroom's house. The time for this is set by the *pandit* and there is said to be very little ceremony or no ceremony at all. The bridegroom simply goes with one or two male friends and the girl is brought back to his home in a *palki* and "they live happily ever after." She is now a member of the new household but may come and go at will between the two places. [592]

3. WIDOW REMARRIAGE: (*Kari hui*; *Path*). It is nevertheless well recognized that a widow may be married again though for the Kols such unions are not marriages in the strict sense. We were often told that while a man may be married more than once, a woman can be married not more than once. 587 [581]

The Kols recognize two possible forms of widow marriage: a widower marrying a widow and a bachelor taking a widow as his wife. The latter form is the least common. Some say that a union like this should never be dignified by the term marriage, for while a Kol bachelor may "keep" a widow he may never marry her and the union has no legal standing. Others call it but half a marriage. Such a liason is never allowed if the Kol bachelor is living in his parents' home; it is only after he leaves the home that such a thing is possible. As long as this widow is kept by him the *panch* sees that he does not contract a real marriage with anyone else. [583] [836] 581 [623]

There are, however, traces of a sort of legalization of this procedure, but this really consists in first making the Kol a widower! If he wishes to marry the widow he must first consult the *panch*. They will usually do their best to try to dissuade him, but if he persists they tell him what he will have to do in the way of penalties. If he is willing it has to be ascertained whether the girl also is agreeable. If she is not, the thing is off, but the Kol youth would probably not have made the request without being sure of her consent. The *panch* then arranges a mock wedding for him, and he is "married" to some inanimate thing. There are several forms possible; one is that the bachelor should be made 587 588 [623]

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587 to perform the *bhanwar* (circumambulation) seven times about a silver
588 or a gold ring fastened to a *magrohan* stick smeared with *sendur*. This marries him to the ring. Immediately after this procedure he should be anointed with sweet oil mixed with *haldi*—a sign that the "wife" has died and that he is now a widower. He may then put black glass bangles on the widow, and after giving a feast as directed by the *panch* he may take the widow into his home without shame and as if with the permission of the community. Roy has noted a similar custom, only that the bachelor is married to a brass *lota* or a flower.[1] He however, says nothing of the bachelor being made a widower.

587 This type of marriage is very unusual, the more common type of widow marriage being between a real widower and a widow. It may be said in passing that a Kol widower may marry a virgin, and that if this is done the regular form of marriage is resorted to in full.

When a Kol widower wishes to marry a certain widow he should
587 first take the matter up with his *panch*. They look into the matter of
623 relationships and the like, and deal with it on its merits. If it is agreed upon, some one from the *panch* is commissioned to go to the place where the widow is living (probably with her relatives), and through her female relatives make enquiry to see if she would welcome this match. If she is willing and her *panch* has no objection, the way is clear. The widower is told by the *panch* what he will have to do by way of a feast, and this he must do before he is allowed to proceed further. A *barat* is made up and the widower and his party go to the village of the widow where they stay for three days, and go through the general procedure as in the case of the regular marriage, without, however, building a *marhwa* or the like, and the general festivities are limited to dancing, singing and eating. The widower must bear all the expenses, none being borne by the widow or her relatives. On the third day the *panch* of her village is called together and certain questions are asked as to their intentions. Upon satisfactory answers they are made to sit together and often they are anointed with oil and vermilion is put on their foreheads. The man is asked to put five black glass bangles on each wrist of the widow and they are considered married.
[574 The party leaves soon after this and there is no ceremony that would
554] correspond to the *gauna* nor *raman*. They go to the man's village where they must feed the community before they are considered to be in good standing.

● 585 MARRIAGE COSTS. The cost of a Kol wedding is a great financial
511 strain on the parties. Both groups have to pay a part of the costs.

1 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 170.

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Usually the girl's party pays the costs of all the ceremonies in her village, while the boy's party pays at his village. Possibly, though we were never actually able to determine the proportion, the costs in the end are about the same for both parties. The boy's father has to pay out more in actual cash, but has to bear a lesser expense in the home in connection with the preparations. In reply to our enquiries, we were given various estimates, but probably no one knows exactly just what the costs are. Sometimes there may have been an exaggeration, but in the light of their economic level the costs are staggering. The cost of a regular marriage is hardly ever less than thirty rupees per family and it ranges from this anywhere up to one hundred rupees per family. In the latter case the people must have originally greater resources and feel that they must do things more lavishly. As the Kol almost never has any money saved or in hand, most money for such expenses must be borrowed; and with the economic level as it is the repayment of such loans is practically impossible. The debtor becomes a virtual slave to the *malguzar* from whom he borrows the money.

The marriages described above bear many marks of, and resemblances to, Hindu marriages. It is believed that in the main the above is a fairly consistent account of the Kol types of alliances. Enquiry from other places show certain variations in practice and order. There are still many details to be filled in, and there are many variant practices yet to be noted and compiled. The process is a complicated one, and without doubt there is considerable variation between village and village in the matter of details.

POLYGYNY. If the husband can afford the added expense it is not uncommon for him to have two wives. In a case where there are two wives, it is usually discovered that the second "wife" has not been married with all the ceremonies as was the first, and that in reality she is just "kept." This arrangement however is considered legal and binding and a feast to the local group usually atones for the irregularity of the procedure. In our survey of Barela we found that there were three households in which more than one wife was found. In one of these instances a quarrel was then in progress between the wives and twice within the period of two weeks the aggrieved wife had run away and the man had to go out and search for her. In Panagar one Kol was found to have five wives, one of whom boasted to us that it was a sign of strength on the part of the husband. But a man standing by slyly remarked: "But look at their clothes and their condition." Kols expect their wives to work and so they are often looked upon as

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776 is the bridegroom deity. The general view is well summed up by Crooke:

> Strange, abnormal features of the scenery often become objects of veneration. In Mirzapur District there is a rock in the form of a hideous, grinning skull, with enormous teeth, known as Dantandeo, 'the demon with the teeth'. ....The same feeling is illustrated by the cult of Dulhadeo, 'the bridegroom deity', which is widely spread from the Central Provinces up to the hills which rise above the valley of the Ganges. He is one of the deified spirits of men suddenly slain before their desires were accomplished, and like others of his kind he should have become a Bhut or malignant spirit. But he is now generally regarded as a friendly household godling. Stone pillars and rocks are often associated with his tragic fate.....[1]

A Kol at Barela insisted that Dulha *deo* was the supreme deity, but generally speaking he is regarded by the Kols as a beneficent household god. He usually dwells within the house and a piece of [778] stone placed in a notch in the wall and daubed with *sendur* indicates his presence. He is offered sacrifices at set seasons, but before each meal a little food should be put aside for him. If he is neglected and gets angry he may cause harm to the family. If he is to be venerated outside the house, a little mound of earth about eight inches high may be raised close to the wall of the house not far from the doorway. This is simply whitewashed and called Dulha *deo*.

776 782 Offerings made to him are much like those given to other deities. It is often said that he should never be offered a chicken. He prefers either a kid or suckling pig. His favourite time of worship is in the [805 787] Hindu month of *Kunwar*, (September-October). This is the time his spirit possesses people and speaks through them.

In Rewa, Kols say that after the marriage festivities the families [264 585] concerned must not eat without first making an offering to Dulha *deo*. The main offering should be a male pig, which is offered to him, then cooked before the shrine and eaten sacramentally. The bones and pieces that are left are buried in a hole in the floor of the house, for if they should be thrown out or exposed trouble would result.

Gwalbansa baba. This deity is another household god of the same type as Dulha *deo*. He is said to be the master of the house and is always worshipped within the dwelling. He is particularly propitiated at *Jawara* time when an animal offering, preferably a goat or pig, is sacrificed inside the house. The blood is sprinkled about the [264] niche in the wall down near the floor which had been freshly plastered. Nothing whatsoever of the slain animal should be allowed to go out-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.

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776 754 493 that several men had already lost their lives, and others had been injured because they failed to show deference. At any time of the day one who passes this place should get off his cycle, stop, ask permission of the spirit to pass by, then walk with his cycle and mount it again a few paces beyond.

789 PROTECTIVE MEASURES. Various kinds of devices are used by Kols to ward off the power and effectiveness of the evil eye and the spirit world. The protective remedies commonly employed are listed alphabetically.

[195 533 585] *Abuse.* The abusive language and songs generally used at the time of the wedding have a prophylactic value. There is somehow resident in *gali* a power which protects the bride and groom from evil influences.

789 372 *Ashes* are commonly employed both on religious and social occasions. Immediately after birth the new-born babe is dusted with ashes. They are also scattered over the place of birth, lest the spirits get a portion of the afterbirth and use it against the child and [844] the family. A magic circle of ashes is put around the bed of the mother and her new-born child. When the *nara*, the stump of the umbilical cord, falls off, it is buried in the floor of the house, and a fire which is kept burning over the spot constantly supplies fresh ashes.

Ashes are kept in shrines to frighten evil spirits away. A portion thrown into the air from time to time will be effective in doing this. [775] A fleck of ashes in a child's mouth after feeding with milk keep *bhuts*, who are passionately fond of milk, at a safe distance from the child. [237] The ashes from burnt cow dung cakes are especially useful as are the ashes of wood from the *bel* tree.

789 301 [775] *Bangles* are a protection. The glass types are mostly decorative, but their colours are efficacious as certain colours repel demons. Kols believe that metal bangles are the most effective, particularly the copper and iron types. As *bhuts* may enter through the feet or hands, bangles on the wrists and ankles prevent that way of entry.

Beads about the neck of children are particularly defensive against the evil eye. They should be of bright colours and the Kols most often use a type made from lac. Blue beads about the necks of [822] cattle help to protect them from the evil eye and all valuable animals should be so guarded. A unique charm noted in this connection, though not among the Kols, was that of old bicycle chains fastened about the necks of cattle.

789 776 372 *Charcoal*, because it is a form of ash and black in colour, is a devil-scarer. Mixed with milk and wine and spread in a circle, it

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forms an effective bar to evil spirits who dare not cross that line. Sometimes it is dropped into milk as it is brought home, in order to protect it from the milk-loving *bhuts*.

Colours are also an effective protection. Black is particularly valuable as a prophylactic from the evil eye. Hence lamp-black is put on the face just beneath the child's eye. This disguises and renders him less attractive, and as a result the evil eye will not linger on him. Black marks on a white-washed tile or earthen pot ward off the evil eye in the case of crops. Black also pleases Kali and she is glad to see it.

Red frightens off demons and red flags found above almost every shrine have a dual significance : they please the good spirits and frighten off the evil ones. The *sendur* (vermilion) put on the bride and groom is a protective at that vital time. Following the purification ceremony, six days after the birth of the child, the mother's feet are coloured red.

Yellow also protects and there are anointings with turmeric in oil at the times of birth, wedding and death. At such crises of the soul they keep away forces bent on evil.

White is also used : a white *pot*, or daub, placed on the side of the face, immediately in front of the ears, is said to be protective in the case of the child and wards off the evil eye.

Copper. Iron and copper bangles are common among the Kols and some say that of the two copper is to be preferred and is more effective ; it was offered to Hanumanji the monkey god, and is hence very sacred. On no account should this sacred metal be used for dishes nor *lotas*, especially if the *lota* is to be taken out for latrine purposes. To do this would insult Hanumanji and show disrespect to copper. The copper bangle is a very potent charm, and among Kols it is often found that children have a copper anklet on one foot and an iron one on the other. The same applies to the wrists. The little boxes frequently seen attached to strings about the neck, containing powerful protectives such as tiger's claws or *mantras* (written charms), are generally made of copper.

Incense and Smoke. Incense attracts good deities and, conversely, repels evil personalities. At the time of worship incense is thought of as having this dual function. The odour of burning *ghi* is very effectual in this respect. Smoke usually repels demons and if articles which cause an evil odour are dropped into the fire they are driven away. In the Kol birth chamber the baby is passed through smoke soon after birth, and for some days the air in the lying-in room is kept smoky by means of a fire smoldering somewhere within it.

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789 823 *Iron* is, on the whole, probably the most common of protective metals; and while some put copper above iron, nevertheless in the case of the Kols, iron appears to be more widely used than copper. The use of iron takes many forms. A woman should always have a bit of iron about her as she is usually exposed to evil influences more than are the men folk. This may take the form of a bracelet, an anklet, a ring on the finger, or an iron ring about the neck. Again it may be just a piece of the metal tied somewhere in the garments or on a string about the waist. [755] A sick man should always have iron about him to prevent further demonic influences during his period of helplessness. An iron key is a protective and even nails in shoes are useful in this respect. A piece of iron [513] ought to be under the head as one sleeps and iron nails are often driven into the four corners of a wooden cot should the Kol sleep on one. In the case of children iron helps to repel the evil eye. At the wedding [585] time the bridegroom carries iron about with him, and iron is found in the wedding booth.

Iron protects houses from the entry of evil spirits and makes their habitation there impossible. Therefore, when a house is built [342] iron is buried under the floor, particularly near the threshold. Even though unseen by the human eye it will influence the demons and they fear to enter and abide in the house. Perhaps *bhuts* are thought [775] of as still living in the stone age and dreading the new-fangled iron and its power to break the strongest things of which they know.

789 *Lac*, obtained from the gum of the *Khairwar* tree (*Acacia catechu*), and prepared in the form of bangles and beads, averts the evil eye and [314] wards off spirits. This is variously coloured.

Lampblack is widely used for children and protects them from the evil eye. While it disguises them and renders them less attractive, [751] it also has the practical purpose of protecting the eye from the glare of the sun. The lampblack, mixed with oil to make a paste, is placed just below the eyes and often gives the child a weird and unnatural appearance.

789 237 291 *Leather* is a very common devil-scarer throughout India and has its uses for the Kols, such as the custom of employing it in connection with the building of houses. For protection, in this instance, an old shoe will generally be found stuck somewhere about the wall which is being built. This is apparent in the picture appearing in connection with building customs.[1] If they can be afforded, leather shoes with nails in them are a double protection, and no Kol goes on a long journey with- [484] out taking a pair of country shoes with him even though he seldom uses them. He will carry them hanging from a stick or in his hands.

1 See plate VIII.

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171 789 776 examples are current among low caste Hindus and do not represent the more polished type to be found higher up.

272 776 782 789 *Milk.* The use of milk has been mentioned in connection with the magic circle. The good spirits like it, and certain evil spirits are passionately fond of it. Milk is scattered over the ashes after the funeral pyre has burnt down. Milk propitiates Nag, the serpent god.

551 789 *Names.* Great care should be exercised in the selection and use of names, as they become a part of one's personality. A good name is also attractive to evil spirits, and if the spirits come to know that a certain child has such a name they may make an attack on the innocent thing. Therefore, call the child by an evil name such as 'fly', 'filth', 'one-eyed', and the spirits will not condescend to notice him. [754] Such names protect in another manner as well. If one gets possession of the name of someone—his real name—he may, through the charms of black magic, work harm to the person concerned. Therefore the child's true name should never be known to people lest they should work ill with it. The use of magic on a false name is ineffective and no harm can come to one.

789 [825] *Noises* of various types are demon-scarers for they dislike noise; hence the beating of drums, the occasional fireworks and other devices, by which loud noises are produced when necessary.

789 824 *Nuts and Seeds* of various kinds are useful. Many Kol children have a *ghata* nut (*Ziziphys xylopyrus?*) tied to a string which is hung somewhere about the person, often on the wrist. Mustard seeds are freely sprinkled about if spirits are expected, and, as in the case of limes, distract their attention. They are scattered round the place where a body is burnt. Black *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) is often [585] used on similar occasions. The *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) is placed below the sacred pole in the marriage booth and under the foundation stone of the house. These are in this manner protected from evil.

789 263 *Salt* has its magic use among the Kols. It has a preservative power, and this, together with its power over demons, accounts for its being scattered over the place where the dead have been cremated. [765] It should not be put into the food during the period of mourning after a death in the home, and the chief mourner should not use it for a year.

755 787 825 782 *Scape Animals.* Among Kols there is a belief that an evil spirit resident in a man may be transferred to an animal and the man thus freed. It is not unusual to bring a man believed to be possessed of a spirit before the shrine together with a chicken or goat, usually the former. The *panda* invokes Khermai amid singing and drumming, or mostly drumming, and there may be a *bâiga* along with it. Under

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789 824 [844] [846] [844] in room and about the door leading to it. Wood from the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) is useful if burned in the lying-in room and this is done for a period of six days after the child's birth, for this is a critical time from the point of view of evil influences. In Hindu thought *bel* is associated with the god Vishnu. The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is helpful in affording a safe delivery and a bit of it is laid over the abdomen of a woman expecting a child. Mango leaves, being lucky and everlasting, are uniformly used in connection with the wedding cycle. Ginger is a devil-scarer, and turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) with its yellow colour is used continually [585] to afford protection. The *magrohan* of the wedding booth should have turmeric put into the hole in which it is placed. The same practice is observed when the umbilical cord is buried or the foundation of a house is laid.

789 776 753 [184] *Tying the Village.* Tying the village and loosing the *devi* is a magic rite which is common among Kols and comes at set seasons. In Barela, for example, this festival is observed in connection with Mari *devi*, the goddess of cholera. It takes two forms and the observance is reported all over the Kol community.

The cholera *devi*, Marimai, must, if possible, be kept imprisoned in her shrine for a portion of the year, particularly during the cholera season. At Barela they say that she must be tied between *Baishaka* (April-May) and *Pus* (December-January). The rest of the year, say for the period of from three to four months, she may roam as she pleases. About the middle of *Pus* a *panda* cuts the cotton cord kept in the shrine. It is this cord that is supposed to imprison her, so when it is cut, she is no longer bound by it. Other *devis* are also considered to be loose at that season. Along in the month of *Baishaka*, the deity is brought back to the shrine by offerings and sacrifices, the magic thread is tied by the same *panda* that released the *devi* previously, and she is now considered bound. This is followed by a feast near the shrine to which only the men may come.

Along with this there is a second form of tying the village and the two are occasionally combined. In this case some water, wine, milk and powdered charcoal are brought to the shrine where a sacrifice is offered and the *devi* implored to let the magic ring about the village prevent the entrance into it of cholera or smallpox. The *panda* then mixes the ingredients mentioned above and the mixture is put into a glass bottle or into a tin with a tiny hole in the bottom. The men then proceed to tie the whole or a part of the village. If the whole is tied it is called *gaonbandh*, and if part, *tolabandh*. They proceed with drumming and singing and a line of the mixture is laid down, either

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824 [776] spirits or goddesses. It has been noted that the mango branch plays an important part in wedding functions. It was also noted that in building the wedding booth Kols ought to use, if possible, wood from [585] the *saleh* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) both for the main supports of the *marhwa* and for the sacred pole, the *magrohan*. The consensus of opinion is that for the latter the *saleh* is absolutely indispensable.

The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is found beside Kol shrines and in the courtyards of their houses. It should be watered daily [757] and its leaves are said to have certain medicinal qualities, being especially effective in fevers. Tulasi was once a woman who engaged [773] in religious austerities for a long time and at last dared to ask to become a wife of Vishnu. For this presumption Tulasi was cursed by Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu, and was turned into this plant. Vishnu comforted her by promising to be near her in the form of a *salagrama* [778] stone. So they are often associated in worship and even in Kol shrines a *salagrama* stone is usually found close to the *tulasi* plant. The leaf [263] is highly scented and a bit is often broken off by Kols and eaten with their food. During the evening hours it is worshipped by having a [782] small *dip* lighted before it.

Dead trees are generally feared as the death of a tree is most certainly due to an evil spirit's influence and a *churel* often kills a tree [775] to make a residence for herself.

824 796 MARRIAGE OF TREES. The Kols have a ceremony for the marriage of trees. The mango tree is the one usually married and this should be done at the time it first begins to bear fruit. Unless such a tree has been married no adult should eat of the fruit, although a child may do so. There are at least two methods of marrying trees, both of which require the Brahmin priest. In the first instance a mango tree should be married to a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*). This tree may be near at hand, or even some distance from the mango tree. The ceremony appears to consist in having a married couple wind a cotton thread coloured with *haldi* seven times around the tree. They should move about the tree in a clockwise direction and as they do this the Brahmin recites sacred texts. First the mango tree is wound then the tamarind; if they are close enough together the thread may be stretched from one to the other. It is not unusual to find a mango and a tamarind tree planted close by. Many of the features [574] of the regular wedding are incorporated, and following the function there is a feast.

In the second instance a small wooden peg, variously coloured, takes the place of the tamarind tree. This may be made out of tama-

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca.1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

1. *Dadar* or *Dadra*. This is by far the most common kind sung by Kols and is a well-known melody sung all over northern India. H. A. Popley in his book *The Music of India* says: "The *Ghazal* and the *Dadra* are two Hindustani melodies. They consist as a rule of *Aniara* only, sung alike to a simple melody in syncopated time, which is known as Pashto." Kols may sing this form on many occasions and at any time of the day and night, and its use is not limited as certain others are. It is used at the *Chhatthi* rejoicings when the women sing and dance on the sixth day after the birth of a child; it is used throughout the wedding cycle; and may even be used at times of religious worship. Sometimes the words are chaste and beautiful, and again a *dadra* song may contain abuse as is common at the times of weddings.[2] 533 [846] [585] [796]

2. *Bhagat*. This is predominantly the song of worship. Some Kols say it is used for the *devis* and *deotas* while *bhajans* are used for Bhagawan. This does not appear to be the actual practice however. The root of the word is from *bhakti* which means "passionate devotion," and a *bhagat* is generally sung before the gods and goddesses. It is sung when the *jawara* is sown. At times when men become controlled by the *devi* it is this type of song that helps to bring on the emotional excitement resulting in "possession". The words may apply to any occasion and the rhythm varies from the *dadra* and the *rai*.

3. *Bhajans* are religious songs, but are supposed to be addressed to the higher powers, and Bhagawan is generally mentioned. However we found an instance of a *bhajan* being addressed to Sharda.

4. *Rai*. This type implies songs of Krishna and Radha. There are various rhythms in use, but its content, as far as words are concerned, is frequently obscene. Like the two following types it is sung mostly at the *holi* season. [831]

5. *Phag*. This is named from the month of Phagun for it is supposed to be sung only during that particular month, and may be called a spring song. Phagun is the eleventh month in the Hindu year and covers the last half of February and the first half of March. This corresponds with part of the *holi* season, and some say the *phag* type of song should be sung only during the last fifteen days of the season. The contents of the majority of *phag* songs are not respectable and it is very difficult to get one sung for an outsider; they are some- [805]

1 *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.
2 Elwin calls the *Dadaria* the true forest songs of the Baigas. *The Baigas*, p. 438.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

4. The Wedding Parties Likened to Warriors.

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Purab disha se Purabiya, pakachim se chare Baghel.
Bajat awe barhon baja,
Ghumat awe tarawar.
Katni men hoi katal hi mar.

The *Purabiyas* march from the east,
From the west move forward the *Baghels*.
They come with beating drums,
Playing on twelve instruments,
Bravely they brandish swords,
In Katni they will fight and kill.

5. The Presence of The Bride.

Bagiya keli dura?
Awai mahaka bela ki?

How far to yon garden of incense?
Whence cometh this fragrance of *bela*?

6. Marriage Song: At the Time of Building the Mandap.

Marawa garori ranga rasa men:
Jo diwara naiyan mori basa men,
Hon tori ranga rasa men.
Khamba garori ranga rasa men:
Jo diwara naiyan mori basa men,
Basa men hain tori ranga rasa men.
Kalas lipori ranga rasa men:
Chauka purori ranga rasa men:
Jo diwara naiyan mori basa men,
Basa men hain tori ranga rasa men.
Tel charhori ranga rasa men:
Basa men hain tori ranga rasa men,
Jo diwara naiyan more basa men.
Haldi charhi re ranga rasa men;
Jo diwara naiyan more basa men,
Hain tori ranga rasa men,
Jo diwara naiyan more basa men.

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The *marwa* is being built with great rejoicing :
Oh the brother-in-law is not friendly with me,
He is not under my power,
Nor the slave of my beauty and love.
The *khamba* is being fixed with great rejoicing :
Oh the brother-in-law does not respond to my love,
He is not the slave of my beauty and youth.
The *halas* is being coloured with great enthusiasm :
The *chauka* is being marked with designs as well :
Yet the brother-in-law is not joking with me,
He is not the slave of my beauty and youth.
I the bride am anointed with oil, and joyful :
Yet the brother-in-law is cold toward me,
He never responds to my love.
Haldi is being smeared upon me with laughter :
Oh my brother-in-law does not respond to my love,
Will he ne'er be the slave of my beauty and youth,
Will he never respond to my yearnings?

7. Marriage Song : At the Time of Haldi Smearing.

Okho marawa kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oho marawa chale jajoman jaba to chokhi
bhanwar pare.
Wo barhi kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oho kambha chale jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanware per barai.
Kumhar kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oho halas chale jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.
Nauwa kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oho chauka pure jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare,
Tiliya kahe, re ham hain bara :
Oho tel chale jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.
Bahana kahe, bhaiya ham hain bare :
Oho bati chale re jajoman jabai,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.
Baniya kahe, re bhaiya ham hain bara :
Oho haldi chale jajo jabi,
To chokhi bhanwar pare.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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Oho, saith the booth: sirs, I am chiefest of all;
On account of me only can there be a good wedding.
Saith the carpenter: sirs, I am chiefest of all:
On account of the wedding pole the wedding is good.
The potter says: brothers, I am chiefest of all:
For without my water pot no marriage is truly made.
The barber speaks: sirs, it is I who am chief:
For without my platform no wedding is likely.
Thus said the oilman: I am essential and chief,
How can a marriage be performed without oil?
The carder replies: I am best of them all,
For without my cotton wick no light can be had,
The merchant speaks: why sirs, it is all due to me:
How could a marriage be celebrated without turmeric?

8. Wedding Song: When the Barat is Dining.

More ko kone wate aye more belakli,
More dulha ne wate aye, more belakli.
Beto deru je we matau jewe darbhajiya bhanji?
More belakli.
Samthi ne wate aye, more belakli,
More daru jewe matjewe darbhajiya ki bhaji,
More he.
Kone newate aye, more belakli.

O beloved jasmin bower, who has now come to dine?
Thy bridegroom has now come to supper, O jasmin sweet.
Yet eateth he gram and the greens of the field,
O jasmin blossom.
With him have come his father and elders, dear jasmin,
They too eat of such common greens,
They have now come to dine, O jasmin sweet.

9. Teasing the Bridegroom's Party as they Arrive.

Man he ekau na aye.
Bari bari muchan he aye, man he ekau na aye.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Bari Bari thonden ke aye, man ke chau na aye 539
„ „ nahan „ „ „ „ „ „ „
We to pitawai pitwa aye „ „ „ „ „ 585
Sabhe ichaha bichaha aye „ „ „ „ „
Etc.

There is none that really appeals to my heart.
There came men with big moustaches:
But none really appeals to my heart.
There also come men with big bellies:
But they never appeal to my heart.
There now come men with great big noses:
But none really appeals to my heart.
Strong and stout they come:
But still they never appeal to my heart.
All sorts of men come on the scene:
But none ever speaks to my heart.
Etc.

10. Marriage Song: For the Guests Who Have Come.

Sajnan aye more hinuana aye ao sajna ke lane.
Puiya pakai puriya ke jibiya more sajna na aye,
Sajna na aye more hituwan aye, ne sajna ke lane, main.
Negruwa maraya geruwa dhulaiya more sagna na aye,
More hit uana aye.
Je sajnan ke lane main ne biriya lagai,
Bira ke chabiya more sajna na aye, sajna na aye.
Sajna ke lane main ne choupare bichhaye,
Chaupar ke khilaiya more sajna na aye.
Je sajnan ke lane main ne sijiya bichhai,
Sijiya ke suwaiya more sajna na ae.
Je sajnan ke lane main ne jhula garaye,
Jhula ke jhulaiya more sajna na aye.
Sajna ke lane main ne randi bulwai,
Randi ke natchema more sajna na aye.

Everybody but my admirer and my lover came.
I cooked sweetmeats for my lover,
But no eater ever came.
I filled the water pot for my lover,
But he that was to bathe did not arrive

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I prepared pan for him as well,
But the eater of betel did not appear.
I spread a chess board for my lover,
But no well-wisher came to play.
I made a bed for my lover,
But no sleeper came to rest.
I tied a swing for him,
But no lover ever came.
I called dancing girls for him to watch,
But he that could make them dance did not arrive.

11. Marriage Song: At the Time of Circumambulation.

Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se dhungata kholo nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se galua rijho neha na toro re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan chuliya kholo neha na toro re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se chunri kholo re nema na kholo re,
Ratan piyare ankhiyan sajna hans ke bolo re.
Jatan jatan se jubnan masko nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare.....
Jatan jatan se pidre masko nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare.....
Jatan jatan se koncha pak do nehan toro re,
Ratan piyare, ankhiyan.....

O husband of jewel-like eyes: only smile and speak.
Slowly and carefully remove the veil from my face,
So that our love may never grow cold;
O darling of jewel-like eyes only smile and speak.
Slowly put thy hand round my neck,
So that our love may never grow cold,
My darling of jewel-like eyes.
My darling of jewel-like eyes open thou
My bodice with care,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My lover of jewel-like eyes very slowly
Disrobe me,
So that our love may never grow cold.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

My husband of beautiful eyes speak love,
And slowly press my breasts,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My lover of wonderful eyes, very slowly
Press thou my thighs,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My darling of beautiful eyes very gently
Hold thou the calves of my legs,
So that our love may never grow cold.
My lover of jewel-like eyes passionately
Consummate all,
So that our love may never grow cold,
O husband of jewel-like eyes.

12. A Series of Coarse Impossibilities.

Sās kunwari bahu garabh men,
Sari sonth gur khay,
Dekhanhari he lalna hoga,
Banjh piyane jay.

The mother-in-law is a spinster,
Yet the daughter-in-law is pregnant;
Her sister gets dried ginger
And date sugar to eat;
The woman who is a mere spectator
Gives birth to an infant;
And the barren woman feeds the child
From her breast.

13. The Bridegroom Likened to a Parrot.

Hare bansa ka pinjara wo ma suwana amola,
Tanga kadama kai dari ma apana karata kilola.
Sakhi samujhaiwali, batiya hamara.

A cage is made of green bamboos,
And a priceless parrot within.
It is hung on a *kadam* branch,
There he mutters and chirps and enjoys it.
O dearest one: what I am saying
Is worth considering.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

14. The Wife's Glory.

539 585 *Bundawali are,*
Bunda ke rale uchata gai,
Jola mari gai.

[302 554] O fair one bedecked with that spot of vermilion,
If that be gone
Then shattered is all thy beauty.

15. A Warning Song.

Lakh gori lakh sanwari,
Lakh na chare pahar,
Bich dhar men gir pare,
Kaua gidh na khay.

Though her complexion be fair or dusky,
Though she climb hills *lakhs* of times,
Yet if she falls in the mid-stream of life,
Not even crows or vultures will touch her.

16. Marriage Song: For the Time of Parting.

Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?
Dulha ko bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal.
Hathi bhange ghora jam uni bicharo, uni bicharo,
Gutka khaye langa lugar samp jaye,
Gant gatili jariya jay tang utaye bichhu,
Jay, Mahadeo ko, jay.
Konnoki bangal bahinayan ban kajli lojawe lal?

What palanquin carrier will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest?
Her husband's carriers will bear
This sister of ours to Kajli forest.
He asked for an elephant—
But was given a horse,
And a camel was given him too.
If this potent be eaten
All poisonous snakes will fly,
And the scorpion will vanish

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Leaving nothing behind;
They will go to the great Sivaji.
What palanquin bearer will carry
This sister of ours to Kajli forest?

V. Songs of Religion.

1. Religious Teaching: The Name of Ram.

Rama, Rama, saba kahai,
Dasharata kahai na koi:
Eka nama Dasharata ka leta
Koti janama phala hoy.
Rama, Rama amola hai,
Damana bina bikaya.
Tulasi aisa nama ko gahaka
Nahin karhaya.

Though all take the name of Ram,
And none the name of great Dasarath:
Yet the name of Dasarath, if breathed in prayer
Blesses through millions of births.
But the name of Ram—it is priceless,
And without price it is offered.
E'en then, saith Tulasi, there's no one,
No one ready to own his name.

2. Religious Teaching: Worship Ram Now.

Rama, Rama ki lutahai,
Luta ja pala luta.
Anta samaya pachhataba pyare prana
Jo jaihain chhuta.
Rama hai bhajana karau dina rata.

Ram, Ram, sounds and resounds,
And they who know his address should heed it.
When your life is past, dear friend,
And the time for repentance has vanished,
You'll rue it.
So now worship Ram day and night.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

When the reserved forests are used there are certain fees that the Kols must pay. In Katni, along the Great Deccan Road, we found that the area of the house was considered for assessing the tax, and that the rate there was annas four per one hundred square feet of land area. In addition to this each family had to pay four annas per year for "sanitation". The standard rates for grazing cattle near Katni are as follows: buffalo Rs. 2-8-0 per year; cattle 0-12-0 to 1-4-0; goats 0-8-0 and to the shepherd who took them out daily annas four per head per year.

Debt. Debt does not seem to be as heavy a burden upon Kols in British India as it is upon their Hindu neighbours. The normal debt of the Indian cultivator has been estimated to be well over two hundred rupees. The surveys we made among the Kols seem to indicate that most of them will be found to have small debts of one kind or another, but that it is not the heavy burden that is so often found in village India; also that the Kol *panchayats* or councils are active in discouraging indebtedness. Out of eleven Kol families questioned in Barela six indicated that they were in debt. The highest debt was Rs. 16/- and the total of the six amounted to only Rs. 42/-. This is much lower than one would expect. Debts were mostly acquired for clothes and marriages. They were made in the Barela bazaar and interest on them was paid at the rate of two pice per rupee per month, which is an interest rate of 37½%. On the other hand one Kol family reported that they made loans to farmers and others on good security and that they had about Rs. 300/- loaned out in that manner.

It was sometimes the custom, in order to avoid debt at the time of marriage on the part of some poor family, for members of the village to subscribe one rupee per family to help defray the expenses. This was considered as a loan which would be paid back later without interest charges if the family was able. The heads of the Kharara Ghat families were questioned about debt. It was found that only three were really involved: one owed fifty rupees incurred by the purchase of a field and a wedding in the family; another ten rupees, also for a wedding and a third fifteen rupees for the same reason. In some other places such as Panagar and Deori, debt was found to be more common, and in Panagar the Kols who farmed land would often take as a loan an amount up to one-third of the expected produce of their lands. Usually the respective *panchayats* watch the matter of the indebtedness of the community quite closely and in some places money may not be borrowed without its consent. In the industrial and city centres indebtedness is quite common, much more so than

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

178 291 [126] presence of men they usually cover their heads with their *saris*. It was difficult to get, for the anthropometric data, photographs of Kol women with their heads uncovered.

177 178 793 585 [558] SOCIAL CHANGES. In the social realm there are certain important changes which may be noted and yet there is a persistence in the older ways. This is characteristic of much of Indian life. Even fifty years ago the Brahmin priest was called for some Kol weddings and some other groups did not call him. The same holds true today, though now-a-days to call the *pandit* is the "right" thing to do, and those who do not call him, but manage things themselves, are looked down upon. Outside of the marriage cycle the Brahmin priest is nowhere else absolutely essential to Kol life, though occasional use is made of him at the name-giving ceremony and the throwing of ashes into the rivers Ganges or Nerbudda.

178 564 [177] It appears that there is a definite hardening of the social divisions within the Kol tribe. The Kols are apparently forming a miniature caste system within the tribe somewhat modelled after Hindu caste. These groups are endogamous and interdining is forbidden and in general they take the form of true castes[1]. If a Kol is asked about his race, he will probably not answer Kol, but give the sub-caste: Rautiya, Thakuriya or another. Kols are very particular about their sub-divisions, and while there is some evidence available to show a desire to break down these distinctions, the main interest seems to be in their preservation. The system seems to be hardening and more firmly entrenched than ever. In discussing this, one Kol gathering said that they were trying to discourage this group consciousness and they were encouraging (1) intermarriage and (2) interdining. They felt that this was the proper order. As yet, however, to their knowledge, no actual cases of intermarriage or interdining had occurred.

177 HINDUIZATION. The process of Hinduization is essentially a social phenomenon. Considerable attention has been paid to Hindu influence in passing and the matter may be summed up here. Throughout the centuries and up till the present time there has been a persistent movement of primitive tribes into Hinduism. They have not come by conversion but by absorption. The term Hindu is very elastic and it often happens that a member of one of these primitive races does not know whether he is a Hindu or not. There has been no

1 Blunt, in *The Caste System of Northern India*, states that there are three characteristics of a caste: Heredity, Endogamy, and restrictions on Commensality. (pp. 1-2).

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON POETRY IN CHAPTER XI[1]

I. SONGS OF NATURE.

1. A *dohārī* from Katni. The theme of love is also set forth. The crow is symbolical of an ordinary human being.

2. The chakahī-chakā (or Chakhī-chakvā) (*casarca rutila*) birds are a pair supposed to be under an eternal curse. During the day they may stay together and sport in the river, but when night comes they must be separated and stay apart from one another. A *dohārī* from Katni.

3. A *dādrā* from Imalhapur village.

4. A *dohārī* from Katni.
Belā: a kind of jasmin. *Chameli*: a creeper of the jasmin type.
Sarangī: a one-stringed country violin.
Sitār: an instrument usually having seven strings.

5. A *birhā* or forest song. This is sung as one walks through the forest and no musical instrument is used to accompany it. The woman is anxious about her husband whom she calls her lord.

II. LIFE: ITS JOYS AND SORROWS.

1. This song is a *rāī* from Sihora.

2. The 'green month' is *Sāwan*, which corresponds to the last half of July and the first half of August. The rains by this time have set in well and the heat-scorched landscape has been transformed. It is of the *dādrā* type of song and comes from Barela.

3. A *dādrā* from Katni.

4. A wedding *dohārī* from the village of Salavara. This song and others like it are used to tease the bridegroom. Here the girl is said to protest the choice of a mate for her.

5. A *dādrā* from Katni.

6. Called '*bārāhmāsī*.' 'A twelve-month song.' Sung by women who have to stay at home while their husbands go afar for work. This song is from Katni and comes from a woman. There are only ten of the Hindi months named here: Sāwan and Pūs are omitted by the singer, probably by error. The Hindi months are as follows—

Āsārā	..	June-July.
Sāwan	..	July-August (omitted in the poem).
Bhādon	..	August-September.
Kunwār	..	September-October.
Kātika	..	October-November.
Agahana	..	November-December.
Pūs	..	December-January (omitted above).
Māgha	..	January-February.

[1] [The native texts of songs and poetry will be found on pp. 221-244.—Analyst]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Phâgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishâkha	..	April-May.
Jeṭh	..	May-June.

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dâdrâ* from Katni. The *loṭâ* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *kâfilî* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kaṭîl* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pânwâlâ* prepares and sells the *pân*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dâdrâ* from Katni.

4. A *dâdrâ* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dâldâr* from Katni. The *dhîmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dâdrâs* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rdî* from Katni.

9. A *biyâ*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Salavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

1. This song is called *chhaṭhar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwâ*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhaṭhar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dâdrâ* from Imalhapur. The *Pûrabiyâs* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rdî* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dâdrâ* from Barela and sung as a teasing song. *Marwâ* or *marhwâ*: the wedding booth.

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Khambh : the sacred post.
Kalas : The water pot.
Chauka : The small raised platform under the booth.
Haldī : Turmeric (*Circuma longa*).

7. This is a wedding song from Barela. The headings indicate the time the song is sung.

8. The important guests are teased by being told that they are being fed with food fit only for animals.

9. Another song with a sting. Sung in connection with the arrival of the bridegroom's party. From Salavara.

10, 11. From Barela.

12. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela. The whole is a coarse series of jesting absurdities : the unmarried woman can hardly have a daughter-in-law, and yet the latter is pregnant. It is, however, her sister who is fed the food given to women in confinement, and a woman who is a mere spectator to all this suddenly gives birth to the child which a barren woman takes and suckles. 522

13. A wedding *dādrā* from Katni. The *kudam* tree is the *Nauclea orientalis*. In wedding imagery the bridegroom is frequently likened to a parrot. 302

14. A *rāī* from Katni. The spot of vermilion denotes a living husband. 554

15. A wedding song from Barela in which the bride is teased and warned to be careful. A lakh is 100,000. 80

16. From Barela. The *bardī* is being teased. Kajli forest is a forest frequented by elephants. A *gutkā* is a magic ball prepared by devotees which, when eaten, is supposed to make one invisible. Here it makes others disappear 189

V. Songs of Religion.

1. *Dādrās* from the vicinity of Katni. These are examples of numerous songs of this nature which were collected and translated but are not reproduced here. It is likely that most of the songs centering about Rām and his experiences in search of Sītā are borrowed as in their actual worship Rām is seldom taken into account by Kols. Dasarath was the father of Rām. 539 577 869 177

3. From Sihora : a *rāī*.

4. A *dohārī* from Imalhapur. The *ghumachī* is said to be a fruit of reddish colour with black spots upon it. It is probably the *ghunghachī* (*Abrus Precatorius*.) For *chakkī-chakvā* birds see notes on 1 : 2. 37

5. This has references to the Rāmāyana story. A *dohārī* from Imalhapur.

6. A song for the *phāg* season, composed in Garha. *Phāg* and *holī* refer to the same season. A *bunda* is a dot or decoration on the forehead to enhance a woman's beauty. Kashi is the holy city of Benares. 539 302

7. A *bhajan* called *sumaran*—'song of remembrance'. Hinglās : or Kailās, the holy mount of Siva in the Himalayas. Maihar : a town and state about 100 miles north of Jubbulpore. It is the seat of the main temple dedicated to Shārdā *devī*. 778

8. A *bhagat* from Jubbulpore. *Lagan* : the wedding horoscope. *Bardī* : the party which comes to the girl's house bringing the groom with 585